

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 DHA-02 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-07

INR-07 LAB-04 NSAE-00 SIL-01 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 L-03

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 CIEP-01

TRSE-00 STR-04 OMB-01 CEA-01 /080 W

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P R 281747Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8503

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 01400

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UK, SP

SUBJECT: ANGLO-SPANISH RELATIONS

1. SUMMARY. HMG WILL BE FOLLOWING SPAIN'S PROGRESS
TOWARDS PLURALISTIC DEMOCRACY WITH PARTICULAR INTEREST.

AS SPAIN SEEKQ CLOSER TIES WITH NATO AND THE EC, THE

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WILSON GOVERNMENT WILL COME UNDER CONFLICTING PRESSURES

IN DECIDING HOW TO RESPOND. ON THE ONE HAND IT WILL BE ANXIOUS TO OBLIGE USG HOPES THAT SPAIN BE WELCOMED BACK INTO THE EUROPEAN FOLD. ON THE OTHER IT WILL BE CONSTRAINED BY THE LONG-STANDING ANTIPATHY AND SUSPICIONS OF ITS OWN LABOR PARTY AND TRADE UNION SUPPORTERS. GIBRALTAR, FOR THE MOMENT AT LEAST, IS NOT A MAJOR FACTOR IN DETERMINING HMG ATTITUDES. ONE OF THE FIRST CLUES AS TO HOW THINGS ARE LIKELY TO GO WILL BE THE TIMING AND SUCCESS OF FOREIGN MINISTER AREILZA'S VISIT. WHAT ALL THIS MEANS FOR THE U.S. IS THAT UNTIL SPAIN LOOKS MORE LIKE A SOCIAL DEMOCRACY THAN A MODIFIED AUTHORITARIAN STATE, THE BRITISH WILL WAIT PATIENTLY AND RESOLUTELY AT THE END OF THE SPANISH QUEUE AND POLITELY RESIST OUR EFFORTS TO MOVE THEM UP IN THE LINE. END SUMMARY.

2. PRIME MINISTER ARIAS' ADDRESS TO THE CORTES TODAY (JANUARY 28) WILL ATTRACT MORE THAN ROUTINE BRITISH INTEREST. HME WILL BE LOOKING FOR CONCRETE EVIDENCE THAT THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT IS MOVING TOWARDS PLURALISTIC DEMOCRACY. A SOURCE CLOSE TO CALLAGHAN PUT IT TO US, "FRANCO WITH A HUMAN FACE WON'T BE GOOD ENOUGH."

3. ATTENTION WILL FOCUS ON THREE KEY AREAS: LEGALIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES, FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, AND GUARANTEES OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS TO ASSOCIATE FREELY AND BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY. AS TO THE FIRST, HMG HOLDS NO BRIEF FOR THE LEGALIZATION OF THE SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY. (A LABOR PARTY OFFICIAL WHO ATTENDED THE HELSINGOR MEETING OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATS BELIEVES THAT SOCIALIST PARTY LEADER GONZALEZ WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS PUBLICLY FOR LEGALIZATION OF THE PCE BUT WILL NOT DECLINE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM HIMSELF IF THAT DEMAND IS NOT MET.)

4. IT IS IN THE AREA OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS, HOWEVER, THAT THE WILSON GOVERNMENT FEELS MOST SENSITIVE, NOT LEAST BECAUSE OF ITS DEPENDENCE ON THE SUPPORT AND GOOD WILL OF BRITISH TRADE UNIONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF ITS ANTI-INFLATION PROGRAM. JACK JONES, LEADER OF BRITAIN'S LARGEST TRADE UNION AND WILSON'S STANDEST SUPPORTER, CONFIDENTIAL

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FOUGHT WITH THE LOYALISTS IN THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR AND REMAINS VERY EMOTIONALLY CONCERNED ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN. IT WAS WITH THIS IN MIND THAT CALLAGHAN TOLD REPORTERS OFF-THE-RECORD IN HAMBURG LAST WEEK THAT HE HOPED ARIAS WOULD ANNOUNCE TO THE CORTES SPAIN'S IN-

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AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 01400

TENTION TO RATIFY INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONVENTIONS ON THE
RIGHT OF FREE ASSOCIATION AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.

5.SPANISH EMBASSY OFFICER HERE FOUND IT ORESUMPTUOUS
OF THE FOREIGN SECRETARY TO PRESCRIBE THE DOMESTIC
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POLICIES OF ALOTHER SOVEREIGN STATE (AS IT UNDOUBTEDLY WAS), BUT CALLAGHAN'S MAIN CONCERN WAS TO COVER HIS OWN DOMESTIC FLANKS. HE FREELY ACKNOWLEDGES NOW THAT HE UNDERESTIMATED THE STRENGTH AND FEROCITY OF RANK-AND-FILE LABOR OUTRAGE AT HIS DECISION TO SEND LORD SHEPHERD TO THE FRANCO FUNERAL. HE GOT BADLY BURNT AND IS BOUND TO BE CAUTIOUS BEFORE HE MAKES HIS NEXT MOVE IN ANGLO-SPANISH RELATIONS.

6. WHEN THE EC COUNCIL DECIDED IN BRUSSELS LAST WEEK TO LIFT THE FREEZE ON THE NEGOTIATION OF A NEW EC TRADING ARRANGEMENT WITH SPAIN, THE ATTENDANT DISCUSSION, ACCORDING TO THE FCO, FOUND THE NINE DIVIDED ROUGHLY BETWEEN THE "BROAD WELCOME" STATES (FRG, FRANCE, BELGIUM, LUXEMBOURG, AND IRELAND), AND THE "DOUBTING THOMASES" (UK, DENMARK, AND NETHERLANDS), WITH ITALY SOMEWHERE IN THE MIDDLE. IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS AHEAD, AS SPAIN SEEKS TO COME CLOSER TO NATO AND TO THE EC, BRITAIN, AT LEAST SO LONG AS IT REMAINS UNDER A LABOR GOVERNMENT, WILL BE SKEPTICAL, MINDFUL THAT ITS OWN SUPPORTERS WILL REQUIRE EVIDENCE OF GOOD FAITH EVERY STEP OF THE WAY.

7. THE NEXT SMALL STEP WILL BE THE VISIT TO LONDON OF THE SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER. THE TIMING IS NOW UP TO THE BRITISH. AN FCO OFFICIAL EXPECTS IT "LATER THAN THE SPANISH WOULD WISH," BUT CALLAGHAN'S POLITICAL ADVISER TOLD US CANDIDLY THAT IF HMG FINDS ARIAS' SPEECH TODAY PLEASING IT WILL RESPOND BY ISSUING AN INVITATION TO AREILZA TO COME SOON. SPANIARDS MAY FIND THIS BRITISH ATTITUDE SELF-RIGHTEOUS AND PATRONIZING BUT IT LOOKS LIKE BEING A FACTOR IN ANGLO-SPANISH RELATIONS FOR SOME TIME TO COME.

8. UNFORTUNATELY, WHAT THIS MEANS FOR THAT U.S. IS THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF BROAD POLITICAL REFORM IN SPAIN, WE CANNOT RELY ON THE WILSON GOVERNMENT TO SUPPORT ACTIVELY OUR EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN THE TIES BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE COMMUNITY AND NATO. INSTINCTIVELY, THE BRITISH WILL APPLY TO POST-FRANCO SPAIN TESTS IN THE FIRST INSTANCE OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY RATHER THAN STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE. WHAT OCCURS IN THE CORTES TODAY AND IN THE STREETS OF

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MADRID IN THE MONTHS AHEAD WILL HAVE FAR GREATER IMPACT HERE THAN OUR REASONED ARGUMENTS ABOUT NATO'S UNRAVELING

SOUTHERN FLANK AND THE IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL STABILITY
IN SPAIN. IT IS NOT THAT THE BRITISH EXPECT INSTANT
DEMOCRACY FROM THE SPANISH -- THEY ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE
DIFFICULTIES FACING JUAN CARLOS. BUT UNTIL SPAIN BEGINS
TO LOOK IN THEIR EYES MORE LIKE A SOCIAL DEMOCRACY THAN
A MODIFIED AUTHORITARIAN STATE, THE BRITISH WILL WAIT
PATIENTLY AND RESOLUTELY AT THE END OF THE SPANISH QUEUE
AND POLITELY PERSIST OUR EFFORTS TO MOVE THEM UP IN THE
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